The
COMMONWEAL

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Religion Is Not an Issue

IN THIS ELECTION no valid issue of religion pushes Catholic citizens to vote, as Catholics, for the Republicans or for the Democrats. The Church furnishes with authority moral standards of personal and social conduct; the citizen must apply these standards to the election as his mind and conscience inform him. A Catholic citizen is not permitted, without sinning, to vote cynically, to vote for something or someone he believes will help himself or his class but injure society. But the authority of the Church in faith and morals and ecclesiastical discipline is not behind either Roosevelt or Willkie.

The public support given Mr. Willkie by a few bishops, by some Catholic journalists and priests whose career (besides that of their vocation) it is to try to mould public opinion according to their own political, economic and social opinions, has received disturbing publicity. We can see no impropriety in priests utilizing their rights as citizens. But even innocent adventures into politics, when they are added up, and when they are embittered by the occasional deliberate use for partisan ends of offices in the Church and of the prestige which position in the Church furnishes—these adventures then falsify the position of American Catholicism in this fall's election.

The cold historical and statistical fact is that Catholic American citizens favor the Democratic Party. Count the Catholics in Congress and in appointive posts when the Democrats are in power. Do the same when the administration is Republican. This arithmetic reflects the historical connection between the majority of Catholics and the Democratic Party. The reasons are American historical reasons and not religious—the waves of immigration, the settlement of the cities, the political genius of the Irish, etc.

A further fact is that the vast majority of priests in the country, in parish work and in specialized work, are much too busy with their spiritual and administrative work to take more than an average citizen's part in national politics. Their relations with local politicians are those of convenience not partisanship.

It is American tolerance which has permitted this freedom and variety to become a settled condition of the country. Catholics have not been beaten into forming a fighting party to preserve their rights. Where the ghetto psychology takes possession of Catholics, it is almost completely self-induced or brought over from abroad. For the institutions of the nation and for the friendliness of our non-Catholic neighbors, which have permitted the Church, embracing a minority of the population, the liberty to live as it should live, we have profound gratitude. Whatever "Catholic" alignment is being speciously pictured by partisans is a falsification of the facts and an injury to the Church and State which Catholic supporters of Willkie, as well as of Roosevelt, should deplore. It is also ingratitude towards the policies and politics of the present administration. The present President is the one who spoke for the nomination on the Democratic ticket of Al Smith, the first Catholic to be honored by the nomination of a major American party. He appointed Myron Taylor as his representative to the Vatican, a recognition of the Papacy and the Church which was followed through in the face of strong attacks from non-Catholics. The President appointed a Catholic, an American of Irish ancestry from Boston, to the first post in American diplomacy. The administration is known to work on the friendliest basis with the NCWC Social Action Department, and in the formation of Latin American, labor and relief policies, and much more, Catholic views and initiatives receive sympathetic recognition. The Catholic has no religious issue on which to fight Roosevelt and none on which to support him. Public record, including this issue of THE COMMONWEAL, shows that some Catholics will vote for Roosevelt and some will vote for Willkie. Our votes will be cast on the basis of judgments which exclude the issue of religion. We see no contest between the American parties over that deepest and most important of all issues. For that, we thank God.

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Man for the White House

Willkie

THE ELECTION this year takes place in the midst of depression, revolution and war. For all practical purposes, the American citizen can choose on November 5 Roosevelt and the group he leads, which embraces the New Dealers, and—more and more loosely as the distance grows from the White House and its immediate collaborators—the Democratic party and its temporary accessions. Or the citizen can choose Willkie and his group of less expert and less organized collaborators, and again, more loosely as the affiliation with Willkie is less formed, the Republican party and its current accession. Without insulting the President and Willkie, one can safely say that these aren't great choices. You can't vote away the depression, the revolution and the war.

Up to the last minute Roosevelt refrained from expounding his ideas for the next four years, allowing his past two terms to stand as the indication of the future. The last two terms, trips to the arms plants, the "bloody shirt" of 1932, a press interview now and then and an occasional executive action. The "we haven't begun to fight," etc., comes after this is written. Willkie's campaign seems to be in two parts: one the "crusade" side, a *recherche du temps perdu,* slipping across the years of the candidate's mature work and the decades of American history which immediately determine the present, back to the period of Ellwood and Coffeyville when life was fresh and ideals were Lincolnian and private enterprise was growing and you could thumb your nose at any politician you wanted to without fear of a crackdown. But pure "free enterprise" is made unrealistic by history, by the articulate demands of the vast majority who are poor and by the world-wide sweep to collectivist states. The second part of Willkie's campaign appears to be the "yes, but" side, accepting most things of the New Deal and advertising an improvement over same. Rooosevelt is standing on his record, or, more significantly, in his office. Willkie is not willing to give up yearnings for laissez-faire, but at the same time he is unwilling and unable to repudiate the New Deal. He will yearn in vain for history to be reversed, but he may possibly alter the emphasis and direction of the New Deal toward channels which are more hopeful than those it is probably digging now.

In the slight retrospect possible now, and in the narrow vision of one contemporary citizen, the New Deal seems outstanding principally for two things. First, it asserted more vigorously than had ever been done before in our country, and established public acceptance for, a primary—if still ill-defined—truth of social justice. That is, that the prosperity of the country must be considered directly from the viewpoint of employees and the poor and unemployed as well as from that of business men and the economically powerful. The "trickle down" theory was repudiated, at least as a theory, and the equal right of the poor citizen to benefit by public policy was set up as a standard: not that the poor man should be benefited because he gains when the employing company is benefited, but that public policy should be directed toward immediately aiding him. The insolent and undemocratic presumption of the economically great was checked. Their lordly assumption of power, their taking for granted that the country is run (and by them) to take care of their business and that the employee class of unpropertied are not to interfere in working out the ways and means, were balked. It was not terribly serious; the New Deal really didn't go far. But the hate which Roosevelt has aroused among the wealthy can most easily be explained by the fear his policy caused among them, by the almost inarticulate indignation the old ruling class has experienced at the intimations given them that they are losing power, that they are no longer the bosses that they were. An American must rejoice in the democratic advance of the New Deal as it has helped relate power more to people and less to property. Willkie voted for that New Deal.

The New Deal boldly utilized the federal government to carry on its purposes. This seems to me its second principal characteristic, and a much more definite one. There is no dispute about the propriety of government acting for the whole people, and the New Deal has by no means brought the state to the point of doing the same good for all classes; the unequal advantage accorded those in possession by government is still intertwined with our traditions, solidified in law, integrated in the whole structure of our society. Furthermore, there doesn't seem to me any question but that the federal government should have undertaken a tremendous amount more work than it had done under the régime of laissez-faire which was so disastrously upheld in this country by a succession of unbelievably impossible administrations.

The New Deal worked through the national state for equalitarianism. The issue of the election as expounded by many of my friends (and in a voice with an undemocratic throb which itself argues against supporting the leader) is between the Rooseveltian effort to use federal power for social justice, with an admitted increase of statism on the one hand, or on the other hand turning the country back to selfish and archaic private

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capitalism accompanied by an inevitable retrogression away from justice to the poor, and also, admittedly, by a check to state centralism. That seems true enough to take all heartiness out of any choice this year, but I think it is a dangerous simplification, and by no means altogether true.

Because the New Deal was redressing a balance for a long time dreadfully out of kilter toward individualism, we should not overlook the fact that practically the whole initiative of the New Deal was governmental. That is all right only up to a point, a point we see over-reached in Germany, Russia, Italy, Japan. The New Deal technique was to take over for the federal government functions and responsibilities which private enterprise, local governments and non-governmental social and economic organizations defaulted. The lower organisms were not, in general, encouraged or forced to do the work that had to be done. The institutional structure was not consistently reformed so that the non-federal agencies could do the work with less trouble than they were having. The most important effects were obtained by the simple process of passing an appropriation law and having the bureaucracy spend money to get the effect desired. What would the New Deal have been without an increase in national debt? The New Deal is to be praised for experimenting, but it cannot be immoderately recommended for having hit on many successful *kinds* of experiment. Another administration might conceivably find more of them during the next term.

We have a mixed economy, a fact the New Deal recognized in practice and was not terrified by, but a condition for whose wholesome functioning the New Deal has not yet provided. The mixed economy comprises: 1. private, competitive capitalism; 2. great industry regulated by monopolistic methods and by more embracing government regulation; 3. state services and state ownership. There is grave debate about whether a country can function with such a mixture and whether it is not inevitable that collectivism will come from such a condition; but there is no use fighting that out this fall because a mixed economy is what we have now, and what we have to work with now.

It is evident that as you shift away from one of these three categories of economy, the other two have to take up the creative, productive work which was performed by the first. In this respect the New Deal has been frightfully careless and wasteful while shifting from the individual. Critics have made things like Passamaquoddy, the Florida Ship Canal, and various boondoggling made-work projects, symbolize the waste of government enterprise. If our economy is going to be "balanced," as it has got to be, by government enterprise and services, those enterprises and services must be definitely more efficient and productive.

The second category of the mixed economy, regulated industry, the New Deal has treated in most contradictory fashion. The NRA was a strangely isolated phenomenon in the hurried history of the eight years. The problem of the railroads was given a short publicity turn and then dropped. The anti-trust laws have been treated to the oddest sort of up and down executive action until the enforcement process seems to be simply a weapon by which the administration can get what it wants. Regular political analysts have sufficiently itemized these and, one place or another, nearly all the criticisms mentioned in this paper.

The state element of America's mixed economy is growing. The forces of history, set in motion not only by our own choices and actions, but by the accumulation of our ancestors' deeds, tend toward collectivism. Economics and politics are becoming identified all over the world. Power is being centralized in great imperial governments. It is in such a period more than ever that men must fight to govern the men wielding the centralized power. We ought not let that power become personalized and identified with a party or clique or leader. The New Deal tries suspiciously hard to preserve its own grasp on state power. The third term is the major issue. Possession of the government is the most powerful possible method of obtaining possession of the government. The longer a clique stays in, the more separate its interests as a bureaucracy grow from the interests of the rest of the people. Marx and Engels and even Lenin, as well as the American presidents, culminating in Jackson, have asserted the same obvious truth. Exploitation does not come exclusively from property. In this country now the rich are not as powerful as a lot of rich-hating New Deal supporters claim. Property can exploit only when political power permits it. Political power can exploit no matter what the supposed economic institutions are which govern property relations: slave, feudal, capitalist, communist, national socialist. The revolution in the world today is undermining the powers of private property, but it is building a great pyramid under the powers of central governments. Unless the people control their government by the enforcement of law and of free traditions, that pyramid will crush them everywhere as it does already in Russia and Germany. It is no good to say that the people can "freely" surrender their strength to a representative and a leader. A free choice requires more than two places on a ballot. A daily plebiscite would not compensate for liberty transferred out of our hands. If tyrants come, how they have come is a small matter; getting rid of them will be a long crucifixion. It is not impossible for them to come unintentionally, and while republican elections are still being held.

The sources of social energy can never be assumed, especially during a time of social transition. And the instruments and outlets for social

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energy must be guarded and cultivated. Three classes are readily recognized: the individual, the state, and the intermediate organs of community and functional activity (Churches—from the political-economic view—unions, trade associations, cooperatives, universities, clubs, chambers of commerce, families, etc.). Now the New Deal has not been tender with the individual. It has nurtured the state. What has it done for the intermediary social organs?

State energy can be of two kinds. It can be the communal expression of the people, and as such is good although dangerous because its action is blunt and roundabout and overwhelming, squashing out subsidiary energies. State energy can also be the activity of the persons—bureaucrats—who use the state as the instrument of their own expression. That is, state energy can be the racket of bureaucrats. New Deal nurturing of the state is a mixed thing and must be guided and checked. The longer the same crowd stays in, the greater the chance that its members will use the state as a racket. The phrase in America is "Throw the rascals out!"

The New Deal has indisputably weakened and threatened most of the intermediary organisms. It has taken functions and responsibilities from them over the whole field, threatened their financial resources, interfered in their policies, etc. Of course, that is not all bad; a lot of them needed checking up, and the sovereign government has large duties in harmonizing and regulating these lesser unities. But as a general principle, those intermediate and to some degree autonomous organs form a shield against totalitarian power and a means for social action which ought to be built up and not torn down. With the fading of individualism they are all that is left between the person and state dictate. The mixed action of the New Deal is epitomized by its effect upon labor unions. It is hard to say anything but good for the lift the present administration has given the unions and for the laws and boards it formed for their assistance. But a reexamination is needed. A continuance of the present administration threatens to make the unions increasingly simple administrative arms of the party controlling the federal government. The administration already gives evidence of influencing unions more than a political administration should, and the men it leaves in charge of labor affairs do not universally work for the common good of union members or of the country. (The problem of Stalinists in the government can safely be left to the herring tosser wing of the opposition; but it cannot be denied by those who oppose the New Deal while fighting against the reentrenchment of the old régime.) The union-government influence works reciprocally in a personal and bureaucratic way in addition to the more institutional and rank-and-file ideal of labor and politics. There need be no monopoly in trying to advance the position of labor in our society, and anyway, the most solid gains are made by labor itself.

Looking at America does not change the view one obtains by looking at the world: that free men cannot start preparing the defenses against unbridled centralism too soon. It is true that the sure way to eliminate all defense is to prevent the central government from doing the great and growing jobs which only the central government can possibly do. The forces impelling our federal government to act more strongly and in a broader sphere are so great, that I don't believe Willkie, in his nostalgic mood, would slow them more than it would be tolerable to slow them. His "yes, but" program constitutes no great threat to the achievements of the New Deal, especially since his winning the election would be the surest sign that party opposition of a formidable character would continue in the United States. Roosevelt himself would live longer out of office than in, and he appears capable of building up a real place in American life as a guiding elder statesman. (Roosevelt for President Emeritus!)

But the great, very long term job ahead is to develop private and intermediary institutions for cultural energies. Labor unions must preserve their own selves in the long run, and cooperatives, universities and all communal and functional organizations. The Church must stand by its own right. The "intermediate"front, the order which gives space for strength between the individual and the state, embracing the positive and creative elements of the anarcho-syndicalist, cooperative and institutionally "hierarchical," is the principal front against the dry rot of absolutism, and I don't believe a reelection of Roosevelt would help build that front. The election of Willkie might. Of course, if Willkie wins, which appears now impossible, most of these arguments will permit, if not force me, to rejoin the ranks of the oppositoin in the attempt to remain consistent.

The environment today is of depression, revolution and war. The order of these words appears to me important. The present administration approaches them in the reverse order, and increasingly stresses only the last—war. War is bad in itself, and what possible good end can be achieved through a war fought by a nation with an unformulated policy for its people and with no policy at all which is integrated into the prior and primary forces of history? There are those who contend that the war must be fought first; that Hitler must be stopped on the military front of Europe or else this country and the whole world will never have an opportunity to reform itself, to conquer the depression and achieve the needed revolution in its spiritual and economic and political life. This appears to me back front. What has been attained during the depression by the United States and by

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the other enemies of Hitler is not enough to bring social justice within a country and international justice among all the countries. Domestic social justice must precede international order. Domestic success must come before success even in the balance of power. We can't strike down totalitarianism or dictatorship by striking down Hitler. (Especially since the most extreme totalitarian and dictatorial tyranny exists in the U.S.S.R. and not in Germany.) "If nowhere in the world there can be created a social system which allows men to work and to utilize the resources of the earth for their own benefit, we are bound to succumb sooner or later to some form of soul-destroying tyranny which will enslave us all, as the German and Russian people have been enslaved." The beam is still in our own eye, and all the exhortations of those who tempt war, all the dividing into black and white, paradise and hell, angel and devil—all the echoes of 1914-1918 and all previous wars—do not constitute a proper revolutionary treatment sufficient to create the premises of international order.

Willkie is no "appeaser," if you mean by appeaser a statesman who will deliberately and by policy sacrifice principle and national advantages with the idea that such a sacrifice will divert the lightning from his own state. It is probably true that he is hardly less warlike than the present campaign indicates the Democrats are. I hope, however, a little less. War, of course, can come. It can be thrown at a country seriously working for the solution of the spiritual, social, civilization troubles that afflict it. This is an altogether different thing from going to the ends of the wide world with a policeman's manner and shield but not his club. The U. S. has no commission or ability to fight the world to preserve a foundering old régime. If war comes because we are doing what we can to create workable justice in our rightful sphere, a man could perhaps fight with a better spirit than he would if the war were undertaken as a means to solve or hide troubles that cannot be solved by war or hidden from history.

PHILIP BURNHAM.

Roosevelt

I AM SUPPORTING Mr. Roosevelt's election for a third term to the Presidency of the United States. In this country, every four years, the time returns for all good men to come to the aid of the party, of any party they choose, but to the aid of some party because these make up the practical mechanism and are for the moment the only available means for democratic expression of the citizen's will.

If Mr. Roosevelt is re-elected the position of Mayors Hague and Kelly will be greatly consolidated. Perhaps. Hitler will be delighted. Perhaps. Another step toward fascism will have been taken. Perhaps. Our liberties, already subordinated, by the New Deal and by the Selective Draft to the interests of the community, will be lost beyond recall. Perhaps. This President who from the first surrounded himself with malfeasant imbeciles—because he thought that the future must be planned by the mind—this hysterical President who created the war by predicting it, who hastened its advent by pleading for peace, who imperiled this country by planning its defense, will be enabled, if re-elected, to strangle labor by encouraging its power, betray democracy by proclaiming its strength and its decision, harden and petrify our hearts by his preoccupation with poverty. Perhaps.

But no, that is not the way I want to write it. The history of these years since the last war can be only superficially a subject for sarcasm. Certainly not Wilson, not even Harding, the freely nominated, nor Coolidge, nor Mr. Hoover were other than men of relatively good will in a world whose forces they could not control and seldom could measure. And those of us who lived through their administrations were companions to their confusion, sharing Wilson's hope and faith, yet destroying that faith and that hope, and perhaps Europe at the same time, with Senator Lodge; closed in with Harding in the same smoke filled room of indifference, and playing to one degree or another the little games, innocent, less innocent and evil, which filled his dull existence; linked with Coolidge to prosperity—with Mr. Hoover, reluctant to abandon it.

The words to characterize those post-war years are the words indifference and isolation. Nothing was of concern to us: there were no problems. People spoke of problems but they meant simply that a delightful problem was involved in selecting the proper technical adjustments to accompany a constant acceleration of well-being. Production and salesmanship. Production, even if it meant to devastate our land and build the dust bowl: Salesmanship, even if intent on creating an artificial demand with full instructions how to satisfy it. Labor was no problem because the men who work were essentially but camp followers of the producers and the salesmen. To the A. F. of L., insistent on the stratification of privilege, a living labor movement appeared as unnecessary as it did to the conservatives. But it would be inaccurate and foolish to attribute this blind indifference solely to Republican political leadership, and to those well known groups of men who are responsible for the creation of class feeling and on whom the Republican Party seems to exert an enduring attraction. This lethargy of the mind was a national torpor, and no voice from the Democrats was heard to denounce it. We were 130 mil-

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lions of Americans isolated each one in his dream, and all of us isolated from the forces which throughout the world were moving toward a climax. Mussolini was a funny man; Hitler was a funny man. That was all we thought of them. And we thought their humor would not be appreciated for long or here.

A few steps forward

It has become obvious what force was rushing to fill the void created by a declining libertarian individualism. That which gave strength and that which was the only valid element behind the revolutions, the Russian and the Italian and the German (but not behind Franco's rebellion which was reaction and not revolution), was the immense desire shared by many men to strengthen and develop the communal nature of society. I need not point out the Christian implications and indeed the Christian origins of this communal incentive. And this force, although deflected, obscured, accompanied by abominable cruelty and by contradictory doctrines of race, nationalisms, and by nationalistic avidity, in the measure that it exists, explains the adherence of Germans, Russians and Italians to their respective governments. Thus what is stronger than Himmler is German awareness of the community; what makes Italy weak is her government's cynical joke about creating a Corporate State; what makes Russia uncertain is that the voice of doctrine has been silenced.

And what awakened America from its torpor was this same force against which no seas are barriers for it springs from the conscience of man.

It is said that Mr. Roosevelt's election in 1932 resulted from the nation's anger and fear. Men's motives are never pure. With our economy collapsing each man was conscious of his own insecurity, each man was afraid and turned toward a solidarity which might afford him protection; each man too was angry at that class (and often it was his own class) which seemed most to have profited by the false prosperity or which appeared to have been its instrument—and, of course, immediately and violently angry at the political party in power. Yet that fear and anger merged, as they often have merged in revolutionary history, with a hope which became the dominant emotion. The New Deal and Mr. Roosevelt were carried by that hope, and its essence was the belief that society could be organized in justice. I say "organized" to contrast this belief with that held by the individualists and by those who think that progress, automatic and undirected, eventually will lead to harmonious agreement. With a sure talent for simplification, the Republican anti-New Dealers express this libertarian theory in a single phrase: "Leave business alone."

The mandate of the people clearly was that business and production and capital should not longer be "left alone" but should be placed permanently in the presence of labor—a new labor, organized and strengthened, as business and production and capital long had been organized and strong.

The mandate of the people went further. If it sought to bring some sort of equality into the relationship between farmers and industrialists and labor, it foresaw that a long period of education in social responsibility would be needed before these groups could forget their long antagonisms, before the contracts they made with each other could cease to be predatory or defensive, before there could be a hope of responsible cooperation for the common good. The readjustment of inequalities in power could lead to a fairer struggle; it hardly could be expected to lead at once to peace. For this reason the mandate of the people charged the government with containing class struggle and anarchy through an unceasing effort of education, through a body of laws directed at regulation of abuses, and, finally, through exercising a certain degree of coercion.

I believe and hope that on November 5 this mandate will be renewed. I hope this because, more than the state socialism to which this program might lead (but in that system it would be our business to struggle for personal and group responsibility) I fear the chaos that would result if the momentum of reform were now to be checked. It is totally unnecessary to attack the Republican opposition to the New Deal, for it is not an opposition—it is merely the cessation of effort. There is no one in the country who is under the least illusion in this respect. A Republican Administration would keep of the New Deal those elements that it dare not drop; continue the action of the New Deal where forced to by the country; restrain and sabotage the New Deal where and when it could. It is not a question of detail. Permanently hostile to the aim and methods of the New Deal, in which they see nothing but government interference and control, if the Republicans are fighting this election it is with the purpose—unless they are imbecile—of destroying it. Prudently, not too suddenly, but in the end, surely. The theme "We could do it better" is an aria for an occasion. It is unnecessary also to announce that, in their work of destruction, they will be assisted, as in the past, by vast numbers of Democrats. The issue of course is not a party issue.

The issue is whether in this country we are going to pursue an effort toward a reasoned and integrated society or whether we are going to abandon that effort.

"The indispensable man"

There is one element in the opposition to Mr. Roosevelt's re-election that I respect as being

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serious. The fact that the Third Term cry is used as a political weapon is irrelevant. I deeply regret the fact that no American, other than Mr. Roosevelt, has been found who both believes deeply in the New Deal and would have a fair chance of being elected President. The precedent of indefinite reelection is a very dangerous one, although the traditional American ingratitude toward its public servants is well enough established to act as a check, and although there are many more likely methods of introducing fascism into our country. Fascism cannot exist without doctrine, and if I say, for instance, that Colonel Lindbergh represents a grave danger to our democracy it is not for a facile opposition of his name to that of Mr. Roosevelt: it is because he almost alone among the President's opponents understands clearly the problem and is capable of evaluating the forces in action. His appeasement is not cowardice or indecision: it is a reasoned acceptance of the theory of collaboration with National Socialism, and it is based on a broad philosophical point of view. In connection with the absence of any New Deal candidate other than Mr. Roosevelt, there is the accusation that the President deliberately has seen to it that none such should be available. I am tired of the amazing ability of so many to read into the heart of one man. The personalization of power, so greatly feared in Mr. Roosevelt, is mainly implemented by his opponents. My interest is in the New Deal much more than it is in Mr. Roosevelt but objectively it can be said that the opposition to the New Deal has been so constantly bitter that no one but the President himself has been able for very long to withstand its attack. It seems strange that those whose philosophy is centered on the conception of personal responsibility should so object to Mr. Roosevelt's assuming it, and should prefer, as a means for solving the nation's problems, the anonymous and impersonal indecision of the Republican conservatives.

This leads me to state that, just as one must vote for one Party or another, instead of voting for oneself or for no one at all, so, if one feels that the New Deal must go on, one is under the practical necessity of voting for Mr. Roosevelt. His re-election is, in fact, "indispensable." Things might have been different: that is how they are.

There are also, in plain fact, some millions of men and women to whom Mr. Roosevelt has become an "indispensable man." They cannot vote for him; many of them will not hear the returns of the election for months after it has taken place: many of them will be dead before it takes place. No amount of American conceit could ever imagine to what extent this man (whom we attack, whom we support, and who depends on our decision for his continuance in office) has the importance of a symbol, of an idea, of a promise and of a hope. He is hated and he is loved, but not as a man: he is hated and he is loved because his name spells out a statement, shouts a proclamation, made by the American people to the world. It does not matter what Ribbentrop and Ciano think, or what Mussolini and Hitler think. We know what they think: we know what chances they are weighing. It matters less than nothing what Gayda and Appelius write. It matters not at all that what these people write or think or say has been injected for political purposes into the campaign. What matters is that in the dark Paris streets round the factories, in the silent saddened villages of France, in the hearts of Italians on the islands and in the prisons, in the hearts of Jews in the concentration camps, in the stunned silence of Poland—and men and women come out in the drizzle of the early morning from the London shelters—in Stockholm, in Oslo—and the Chinese woman watches the fire consume the last house in the village—in the Brussels Square of the Corporations, in Helsinki, in Ankara, in Athens—and Schuschnigg sees one day after another and one night after another and perhaps today there is a new face when the guard is changed—in Prague, in Bern, in Amsterdam, in Sydney, in Siam, in Tunis, there is no hate but only an unformulated hope, a pitiable trust, in the name Roosevelt, in the nation America.

The war

The War, the New Deal. These are the two factors which dominate the election. The revolution in our society, the revolution abroad. We are trying here to effect our revolution in peace, and such an attempt was being made before the war in France. Slowly yet inevitably such an attempt is in process in Great Britain. A futile and mismanaged attempt was made in Spain and it was crushed. The Axis powers chose an easier way: they cheated. They took the profound impulse towards social justice which characterizes in this century the thought of the Catholic Church, and the thought of men of all nations, and races, and they betrayed the young revolt against injustice. They freed to enslave. They defiled the hopes of this century. That is why we cannot forgive them, or appease them, or live freely while they endure. They have taken a thought which belonged to all of us: they have taken the words devotion, community, communal, sacrifice, fellowship, and they have changed the sense of these words by their use of them. The words pity, compassion, humility they have abolished.

That they were driven to such desperate extremities to some extent is our fault. We did nothing to organize a new order in Europe at a time when we could have done so. We offered Europe the doctrine of isolation because there was nothing we wanted, and that doctrine was merely

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a passive form of the extreme nationalistic activism of less fortunate nations. Our selfishness equals theirs and perhaps served to produce theirs. But a graver fault was that we started to renew our society partially, and too late, and too selfishly, and because of this no example was given a Europe avidly desirous of one. We offered Europe no way out. We closed our ports to immigration and our hearts to solidarity. That is why we now must pay for our years of isolation.

President Roosevelt made persistent and able efforts to avert the catastrophe but it was too late. And whatever he did in those last days, hardly had he spoken when his political opposition screamed to Europe that it was useless to listen to him for they would see to it that what he said meant in the end nothing but words. When he tried to inform the nation Senator Borah had his private sources of information and knew better. There would be no war. I do not know whether a united America could have prevented the war: I know that illiterate politicians and some who were literate and criminal deliberately rendered our foreign policy impotent—at a moment when peace might yet have been saved.

And now we have conscription and we are near to war. We inescapably are bound in a common solidarity of misery to all those countries who refuse the New Order of the totalitarian powers. We are bound now to suffer with them in their trial. In particular we are bound to Great Britain and, somehow, I do not care to list the reasons why it would seem unnatural for us to live in freedom if the English were enslaved. The President has said there would be no appeasement. We, then, will give increasing assistance to Great Britain and if war should be the consequence of our doing that then we will be openly at war. And there is nothing I can see, neither hatred of war, nor despair of what war will certainly do to arrest our search for justice in this country, and the plans we have for relieving misery through justice—there is nothing I can see to prevent my supporting the President in the stand he has taken. And because I give my consent to the action he has taken as Executive of the nation, I am doing the only thing I can to validate that action. I am supporting Mr. Roosevelt's re-election to the Presidency.

C. G. PAULDING.

Catholic Press and the Election

By **Edward Skillin, Jr.**

IT IS SAID that the combined circulation of Catholic periodicals in the United States is somewhere around seven million. If to this number is added the extra readers of such periodicals at public, college, school and seminary libraries as well as at various religious houses, it can be readily seen that the Catholic press reaches a rather large sector of the nation's voters. These voters comprise more of a factor in some states than others. In Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in cities such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit, some of them strategic enough to weigh heavily even in a national election, Catholics comprise an imposing proportion of the voting population. What have the various publications—newspapers and magazines, weeklies and monthlies—to say about the contest between Roosevelt and Willkie?

The diocesan press

One of the largest components of that press is the series of diocesan papers brought out with ecclesiastical approbation in various parts of the country. There is one large group of these papers affiliated with the Denver *Register* weekly newspaper chain. This chain has succeeded in signing up 27 American dioceses and archdioceses for a local edition of the *Register* as their diocesan paper. This means that certain features are regularly provided by the *Register,* while the local editors take care of the official news from the Chancery Office, local news from the diocese—religious, social, parochial, educational, sports, etc. The combination of 27 diocesan papers is a rather formidable one and it is interesting to note that the *Register* chain seems to be taking no sides in the current presidential campaign. In the local edition of the *Denver Catholic Register* for September 26, 1940, for instance, there is a "Registorial" entitled, "How the Wind Blows in the Presidential Race." Objectively sizing up at some length the chances of both candidates, these comments go out of their way to say, "We print this not to advocate one side or the other, but simply as a matter of news."

Of the tens of independent diocesan papers not affiliated with the *Register* group, much the same attitude is generally manifest. The National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service syndicates practically all the news stories on matters of national or international interest and this News Service is apparently taking no sides. It is true that

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when Frank Walker was appointed Postmaster General, a number of the diocesan papers gave a big headline to the story to the effect that Mr. Walker was the third Catholic appointed by President Roosevelt as a member of his Cabinet—so much so that some of the Willkie forces began to cast about how to counteract the propaganda value of this story in Catholic circles.

At one time, the *New World* of Chicago printed some contributions which were strongly in support of the New Deal, but under its present editorship, which went into effect before either of the major political conventions, the *New World's* point of view has been much more typical of the diocesan press in general. James B. Cooney, who conducts the column "Keeping Pace with the News," whatever his personal views on the subject, has confined his election comments to a plea for a decent campaign. After expressing the hope that the electioneering will not take the form of mudslinging, he says, "This comment is not intended to be political, nor is it to be construed as an indictment of either of the major political parties."

Another typical example is the *Michigan Catholic* which in its leading editorial for October 3, 1940, discusses, "Voting a Duty." In good scholastic style some of the comment reads as follows:

> Citizens are bound to vote and that by a command of the virtue of legal justice. As citizens they are bound to promote the common good in all reasonable ways. But voting is a most reasonable and effective way of promoting the common good. Consequently, it requires a serious cause to free a citizen from the obligation of voting. . . . A second obligation incumbent upon the voter is to refrain from promoting the interests of individuals as against the common good. He must vote for what he honestly believes will help the general welfare.

The impartial attitude is even more forcibly expressed in the *Catholic Herald Citizen* of Milwaukee of October 5, 1940, in an article which was a reprint of a talk by Rev. Maurice Sheehy of the Catholic University.

> The effort to coerce any Catholic group, as a Catholic group, to support a particular party or candidate, would in this country lead to disaster. I can foresee no greater tragedy for the Catholic Church in the United States than that which would be involved in alliance with a political party. Such an alliance might seem temporarily expedient, but in the long run it would mean persecution, intolerance, and a loss of that prestige which has been gained by remaining aloof from political campaigns. It reflects great credit upon our Catholic laity that it is horrified when a priest so forgets his spiritual office as to take sides publicly in a political campaign.

Diocesan papers like the *Catholic News* of New York and the Boston *Pilot* do not discuss the election. And this is true of most of the others. Obviously the devotional magazine does not enter the political arena. Neither does the large group whose aim is to raise funds for missions and charitable works. Somewhat akin to these are periodicals which combine missionary news and appeals for missions with some attempt to discuss such things as philosophy, literature and public affairs. Noteworthy in this group is the *Sign,* published by the Passionist Fathers of Union City, New Jersey. The last two issues of this monthly devote considerable space to the election but the emphasis is far from a partisan one. Rev. Theophane Maguire, C.P., writes an editorial in the September issue to stress the importance of the campaign for every single American and to urge all citizens to exercise their right to vote in an intelligent and responsible manner. In October, Father Maguire makes another appeal for sustaining American democracy. Two articles in the same issues analizing the campaign are not colored by advocacy of either candidate or either party.

Journals of opinion

Among the journals which are published solely to spread their views on philosophy, the arts and public affairs, and which belong to somewhat the same field as THE COMMONWEAL, are *America* and *The Catholic World.* The Jesuit weekly, *America,* has consistently taken a partisan stand on this election. A year ago, before either of the party conventions, *America* came out directly in opposition to the third term, regardless of the man in office.

America made a great deal of the Chicago convention in articles and editorials. Here is a bit of "Comment" from the July 27 issue:

> The third term issue becomes the major question in the presidential election of 1940. It supersedes the issue of American intervention or isolation as regards the European war; both Democrats and Republicans are almost in agreement on that question. It is more important than the issue of American preparedness; both Democrats and Republicans have written almost the same program on this question. It is more vital than the issues of social and economic legislation; neither Democrats nor Republicans can offer a solution to these problems that is altogether convincing.

And on August 10, one of *America's* editorials was concluded as follows: "Today, the new form of government, destroying the old system of checks and balances, is supported by the most corrupt political machines in the country. Will these machines succeed in putting up the presidency at auction? Are we to have a President hereafter, or a man on horseback? That is the issue in November."

The Catholic World until the eleventh hour was less decided in its comments on the coming election. The editorial comment, which is generally ascribed to Rev. James M. Gillis, C.S.P., each month, did raise quite a cry about the Chicago convention. In the September issue the leading editorial which is entitled, "Truth Telling.

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A Panacea," a number of varied instances are given of "endless forms and varieties of deceit, tantamount to lies." The editorial continues:

> I venture to . . . say that in the history of the United States there has been nothing more disingenuous than the President's claim that his fellow-citizens were clamoring that he must accept a third term. Perhaps he believed it. entourage lied to him. When the raucous voice of the sewer- But if the President did not lie to his fellow-citizens, his man in the cellar of the Coliseum in Chicago blazed from the amplifiers in the Convention Hall and was heard over the world by radio, Mr. Roosevelt listening in the White House may have taken the loud noise to be the importunate outcry of all the people. I say he *may* have.

In general, The *Catholic World* seems to be more interested in the question of the United States keeping out of the war than any other aspect of the presidential campaign. Here is the conclusion of the November editorial:

> There is more chance of our staying out with Wendell Willkie who says we "must not fight another nation's war" than with Franklin D. Roosevelt who has decided that another nation's war is our own. . . . We can stay out of war if on November 5 we vote Franklin D. Roosevelt out of office.

Somewhere halfway between a diocesan paper and a journal of opinion is *Our Sunday Visitor*, published by Bishop Noll at Huntington, Indiana. For years it has had a large sale at church doors in various parts of the country. At one time earlier in the campaign, there was considerable talk going about to the effect that Wendell Willkie's father had made a deathbed return to the Church, whereupon *Our Sunday Visitor*, published in Indiana, investigated and printed the facts that indicated that Wendell Willkie was not a former Catholic. *Our Sunday Visitor* has not taken as strong a stand on the election as *America* or *The Catholic World*, but the direction of its sympathies is discernible. In the October 13 issue, for instance, there is a leading editorial entitled, "Blasting at the Constitution" and for those who want to read it that way, it might be construed as an attack on President Roosevelt. After citing the first three Articles of the Constitution which deal with the powers vested in the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the Government, the editorial says:

> It was surely never contemplated by the framers of the Constitution that either the Supreme Judicial power or the Supreme Legislative power should not be perfectly free, each in its respective field. It was never contemplated that anyone would be recommended to Congress for appointment on the Supreme Court whose intelligence, whose sanity of judgment, whose judicial fairness were open even to suspicion. It was never contemplated that men would run for high office in the government except to serve it unselfishly. . . . Christianity and the democratic spirit are so intimately interwoven that every civil ruler whose power was used for the destruction of democracy always was sure to discard his religion and then to wage a war on Christianity, and on God Himself, without Whom no Constitution, no law, can have sanction.

From Royal Oak

People differ on whether *Social Justice* should be included in a study of the Catholic press. In its present form it is a virtually anonymous publication. The only names which appear as responsible for the views expressed each week are E. Perrin Schwartz, editor, Cora Quinlan, secretary-treasurer, and Pete and Pal (two dogs who comment on the folksy happenings in the *Social Justice* office and other stirring developments of the day). It is published by the Social Justice Publishing Company of Royal Oak, Michigan. But many Americans look upon *Social Justice* as a Catholic periodical from the fact that it is sold before many church doors.

Just before the Republican convention, *Social Justice* appeared and suggested that the Republican ticket should be Wendell Willkie and Charles Lindbergh. Their happiness at having picked the right man was jolted some weeks later when the Republican candidate in a somewhat roundabout way disavowed the support of that periodical.

On September 9, in an article entitled, "Willkie and the Jews," *Social Justice* indicated how upset it was. Here it is in part:

> The Hoosier Sky-Rocket (electrically wired) may be a better lawyer than Franklin Roosevelt, a better business man than Franklin Roosevelt, and a better industrialist than Franklin Roosevelt, but the smiling Squire of Hyde Park can outdistance his opponent in the field of politics, even handicapped by the lack of seven-league boots. Why should any astute candidate deliberately antagonize any of Father Coughlin's many friends? . . . Of more importance, why should Mr. Willkie presume that Father Coughlin planned to aid him or any other candidate?

But by October 21 *Social Justice* bounced back for good. One item of "Comment" read, "Great Britain is more interested in retaining Mr. Roosevelt in office than it is in saving the population of England itself." And an item headed "Vote for Wlilkie" reaches this climax: "Our liberties and our properties have a better chance of being saved under Willkie than they have under Roosevelt."

In general, then, it might be said that the Catholic press as a whole has not expressed its preference in the current presidential election. It has left to its millions of readers the responsibility of studying the men and the issues and making up their own minds. Several months ago the majority of the contributing editors of THE COMMONWEAL, in expressing their views on the election, were in favor of Mr. Roosevelt; a minority of them were either on the fence or in favor of Mr. Willkie. When expressed, opinion in certain other Catholic journals has favored Mr. Willkie. On the other hand it is well known that several leaders in the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference have been ardent New Dealers right along. American Catholics are well divided on this election.

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Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

FATHER JAMES M. GILLIS is a celebrated, even a famous American Catholic priest. The eminent position he occupies in American life is due to many outstanding qualifications. He is one of the leading pulpit orators of our age. As a radio speaker he is among the best known, certainly to the twenty million Catholics of the country. As editor of *The Catholic World,* and writer of its trenchant editorials, and author of a weekly column published in a large number of Catholic papers, he commands both the respect of educated readers and the admiration of simple folk. For the latter group his lucid language and vigorous, homely style, and a wholly proper respect for his sacred office, are better warrants to their confidence than even the breadth of his learning, and the deeper philosophical and theological bases of his thought, are to the more erudite members of his wide following.

Therefore, so it seems to me, it is greatly to be deplored that Father Gillis has lent his great prestige as a priest and as a Catholic publicist to a partisan political attack upon President Roosevelt, and a partisan advocacy of Mr. Wendell Willkie's candidacy for the Presidency. His attack on the President and his promises on behalf of Mr. Willkie are highly inconsistent, reckless, and unpredictable in their possibly dangerous consequences. Catholic voters, and the American public in general, could receive the impression that what Father Gillis writes, and the pro-Willkie press tremendously publicizes (employing Father Gillis's own press release sent out for that very purpose)—that this represents authoritatively the views and the methods of the ecclesiastical authorities of the Catholic Church in the United States.

The Reverend James M. Gillis, C.S.P., is, of course, a citizen as well as an ordained priest of the Catholic Church. And it is axiomatic that each and every American citizen has not only a right but in principle a duty, as well, to form his individual opinions as to the desirability, or the reverse, of all political measures and political candidates. But these are James M. Gillis's views as a private individual which are used in a partisan political manner—like the views of Archbishop Schrembs, of Cleveland, and those of Father LaFarge, S.J., one of the editors of *America,* which were read at the anti-third term meeting in New York City a few nights ago. In addition many diocesan Catholic newspapers and other ecclesiastically controlled periodicals are openly and violently, and in many cases quite unfairly, attacking President Roosevelt, even when not openly or by clear implication supporting Wendell Willkie. It can hardly be wondered if the American public should believe that the Catholic Church in the United States has, at long last, deserted the traditional and prevailing practices of the Catholic Church since the days of Bishop Carroll to now, and has entered the arena of active political, and partisan, strife, as a partisan, not as a moral tribunal.

It is most devoutly to be desired by all Catholics not completely obsessed by the emotions and passions aroused by this unprecedented political crisis—whether they favor Wendell Willkie, or President Roosevelt—as it is to be patriotically desired by all non-Catholic citizens, that this false impression should be dealt with by competent authority, by our Bishops themselves, before it fastens upon the American consciousness. For if it does so, it will destroy that reputation for scrupulous non-partisanship in all political matters that do not clearly and unquestionably involve or center around moral and spiritual principles, a reputation supported by the facts of our history, which the Catholic hierarchy, and the priesthood in general, have built up and maintained since the establishment of our nation.

If Father Gillis as a priest, not merely James M. Gillis as a man and a citizen, not only believes the defeat of President Roosevelt and the election of Wendell Willkie desirable on political and patriotic grounds, but also because of spiritual and moral and doctrinal considerations to be judged by the criterion of defined Catholic doctrine, he should say so, and lay out his case. Even then, his opinions would necessarily be only his opinions, unless or until official authority sustained them, or handed them down to him to observe in thought, word, and action.

Yet, that many Catholics—and probably a greater number of non-Catholics—might readily make the dread mistake of holding Father Gillis's personal views, in his violent blast against President Roosevelt and his completely inconsistent advocacy of Wendell Willkie, to emanate from official action of his Church, is not to be wondered at. A reader of his publicity release finds him calling upon the canon law of the Catholic Church, and using a one-sided presentation of its high authority, to aid him in attacking President Roosevelt. Father Gillis points out that the canon law of the Catholic Church limits the rule of certain religious executives (but not of Bishops, the really most powerful rulers, who have life terms) to one or two terms, always barring a third term. *Ergo* (I must suppose he means at least Catholic readers to conclude): American voters should follow the canon law and deny a third term to any Presidential candidate. In other words, Father Gillis would have American voters to be more Catholic than the Catholic members of religious congregations. The latter, with certain exceptions (like the Jesuits, for example, who elect their head for life), are bound by canon law to give no more than two consecutive terms to any elected or appointed head of such bodies. But American voters are bound by no law, neither by their own Constitution, nor any lesser legal rule, in the matter of a third presidential term. Perhaps they ought to be; but that is for them to decide. Certainly at present they are not. And many millions of American citizens, fully as patriotic, according to their own lights, as Father Gillis and the other anti-third-termers, do not recognize as valid the opinions urged against their determination to keep in office, by the democratic process of majority voting strength, the President they know—the President whom they trust, to whom they are grateful for services already rendered in saving their nation from the wreckage of a tremendous disaster, and re-uniting its social structure on a basis more

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reasonably akin to the basic teachings of the Catholic Church on social justice than that of any other nation.

Canon law is a marvelously beneficial agency, not only in the operations of the Catholic Church, and its intricate minor organizations, but through its influence on the British common law, and hence on American law. But canon law, on the minor point of fixing the tenure of office of our state executives, cannot bind the civic conscience of American voters, whether they be Catholics or not. Why, then, drag it in to confuse an already bewildering controversy?

As for Father Gillis's main point, that by voting President Roosevelt into office again the nation will place itself in far greater danger of entering the war than by electing Wendell Willkie, it is his arguments, or, rather, not his arguments, only his personal pontifications of personal opinions, that I find to be reckless and inconsistent, and resting upon no premise discoverable by me to support a logical thesis adequate to bear the weight of such grave assertions. He accuses President Roosevelt of being reckless and "dangerous," because he was told by somebody "who seemed to be close to the administration" that his informant thought "all the Roosevelts to be dangerous." Father Gillis adds, "whether he meant only Franklin and Eleanor and Jimmy and Elliott, or whether he harked back also to Teddy, I don't know," with that same lack of consideration for people, which marks such hard-boiled political writers as General Hugh Johnson and Westbrook Pegler. This is rather disconcerting when it comes from a cultured clergyman. But Father Gillis leaves us in no doubt that to him "all the Roosevelts" includes not only the President and his immediate family, but also the late Theodore Roosevelt. It is to be hoped, for his own sake, that he does not also include the present Theodore Roosevelt, or Nicholas Roosevelt, or Alice Roosevelt Longworth. They are all opposing the President, along with Father Gillis. And in his effort to alarm his fellow citizens against the President and sell them the unknown Wendell Willkie on a "he will keep us out of war" platform, he needs all the support he can muster, even from dangerous Roosevelts. However, Father Gillis would scare us about the President not alone on the basis that he is a Roosevelt—a sort of biological, if not strictly logical argument that I am surprised Father Gillis, who so stoutly opposes the biological racial ideas of Hitler and their aping by Mussolini, should have blundered into using, even inferentially. He adduces, also, a long series of what he terms the President's broken pledges and reckless words and actions to justify his condemnation of the President and his exaltation of Wendell Willkie. Space lacks here to take up these charges in detail. Suffice it to say that certainly for most of them there are quite satisfying answers to be made in rebuttal. But even supposing—which of course it is the whole point of my own position to deny—that Father Gillis is right, or mainly right, or at least partly right, in his bill of complaints against President Roosevelt, how does he justify his sweeping assertion of faith in Wendell Willkie? He does not do so in this widely publicized piece of electioneering for Wendell Willkie. But he should do so before the election.

If President Roosevelt, as Father Gillis alleges, "repeatedly castigates the dictators, calls them names, threatens and challenges them all," and, therefore, according to Father Gillis's implied logic, cannot possibly mean what he elsewhere says, namely, that he hopes and works and prays for peace, and, because of such statements is thus necessarily committed to a course leading us rapidly into war—what about Mr. Willkie's acceptance speech, going so much farther than the President? Mr. Willkie said that he was ready to accept any sort of challenge from Hitler, not merely in the hypothetical future, but right now, in 1940. Mr. Willkie has as fully committed himself as the President has to the thesis that Great Britain's navy and airforce and naval bases are keeping this nation safe as long as Britain is not defeated, and that it is the national duty of any American President to aid the British with arms to the full limit consistent with our own national safety.

If, then, Mr. Willkie is elected President, and if during his tenure of office Germany and Germany's dictatorial allies count, as well they may, the assistance rendered to Great Britain by President Willkie's administration as a cause for war—how then can Mr. Willkie, as Father Gillis promises on his behalf, keep us out of war?

Father Gillis cannot have it both ways. If President Roosevelt's words and actions are provocative of war against us by dictators whose feelings have been hurt, to say nothing of the injury done by actions to their fell designs upon the freedom of the nations not yet ruthlessly conquered by them, will Father Gillis kindly explain why what Mr. Willkie has said about the dictators, and the things he has promised to do to check their onslaught, can work the other way? Does he not believe that Mr. Willkie is an honorable man, meaning what he says, and meaning to carry out his words in actions? Surely Father Gillis must believe in Mr. Willkie's honor, else he would not urge his election—yet surely also he must have read or heard Mr. Willkie's many fervid utterances about his abhorrence of what the totalitarian nations are doing, and what their danger to America is, and what he proposes to do about it. If the dictators challenge Mr. Willkie, how could Mr. Willkie avoid war, save by total surrender to something worse than war, namely, by accepting an alliance, in a minor, submissive rôle, with the totalitarian powers? If Father Gillis really perceives a way out of this dilemma, let him enlighten the readers who may tend to accept his glittering, rosy promise on behalf of Mr. Willkie simply because Father Gillis says so.

The rest of us, Americans facing a tremendous crisis, but not willing to be led astray, either by denunciations of one candidate or paens of praise for some other, but seeking for reasons upon which to base a reasonable choice between the two main candidates, will be deeply interested, I am sure, in hearing Father Gillis's reasons for trusting Mr. Willkie to keep us at peace. But even more we would be interested to hear from the only official spokesmen of the Catholic Church, the Bishops, a restatement of the Church's absolute neutrality in this political strife, so that there may be no excuse for misjudging Father Gillis's personal opinions as an expression of the corporate action of the Church in the United States.

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Communications

WE REMIND THE GOVERNOR

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: In permitting me to reply to Mr. James N. Vaughan's letter, I hope you will not mind if I take his last point first. He tells me—as one who perhaps has never noticed the fact—that the community does its political thinking with other things besides its "disinterested intelligence," among these other things being its "viscera." Actually, this is not news to me, nor to anyone, I should think, who has ever lived through a political campaign. The classic example in my own memory is the presidential campaign of 1928. Many millions of rank-and-file voters then entertained and urged a conviction, almost entirely visceral, that a Catholic is unfit to be President; many leaders who knew better, whooped them on because it meant votes. I am not likely to forget it.

If Mr. Vaughan means to say merely that emotions legitimately enter political beliefs, he is saying what no one denies. But if he means to say that there is no danger in this, or that leaders have no responsibility, in view of it, to temper emotional appeal with reason and justice and basic propriety, then he is saying what is indeed news. Specifically, when Mr. Wallace uses the word "appeasement" and Governor Lehman tells his hearers what the dictators do not want, what is their purpose?

These words or phrases are not imported into the controversy out of the dictionary. Their frame of reference is present European history; that is where they get their meaning for any audience today, and that especially is where they get their power to arouse suspicion and hatred. The appeasement party in Britain was the party that, when the country was directly threatened with war, induced it to break its honorable commitment to Czechoslovakia as a means of buying peace; peace did not come, so the word "appeasement" is doubly freighted with odium. Similarly, it was regarding a British election that the Nazi régime insolently declared which British political leaders would not be regarded in Germany with favor.

Now what can be the reason for lifting these allusions from their context and using them on American affairs, where they do not apply? For however pro-British our sympathies, we must be different from Britain, since Britain is at war as the direct result of a specific series of happenings connected with her uneasy continental adventure, and we are not at war, that adventure not having been ours. Two possible motives suggest themselves for talking to our electorate in these terms. One would be the deliberate purpose of conditioning them to make this war their own—of widening their sense of identity with Britain until they are hypnotized into believing that we too have an appeasement party, and that to us too the Nazis have indicated whom they do not want in office here. Let me hasten to say that I do not think Mr. Lehman or Mr. Wallace has this motive. But this brings us to the other motive—to make political

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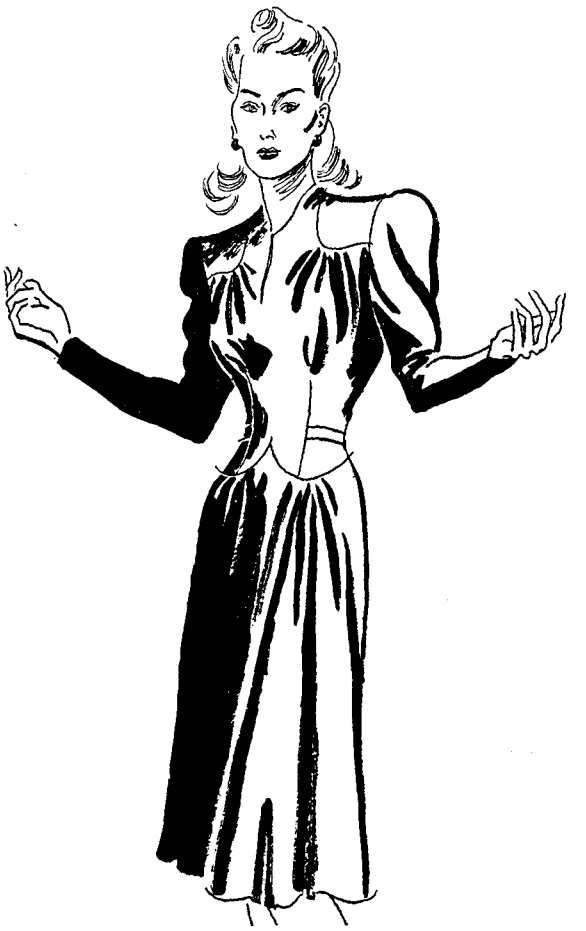

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capital out of the tremendous popular feeling about these things. The words do not apply, but they can be usefully thrown out to create a baleful aura about the Republican candidate, to imply that he and his supporters are more agreeable figures to the dictators than are his opponents; from which the step to suspecting that he and his supports care less for democracy, tends to be a short one in popular logic when visceral reactions are uppermost.

Governor Lehman himself, of course, has explained in effect that he meant nothing negative about Mr. Willkie but something positive about Mr. Roosevelt, whom he regards as the world's chief symbol of democracy, and hence as the chief target of totalitarian hatred. This is probably Mr. Vaughan's feeling also. But surely only the emotion which makes us all incline to anything that will distress the dictators, veils the grave wrongness of pleading for votes on such a basis. What would Mr. Vaughan think of the appeal "Vote for Roosevelt because the British favor him"? It is no more improper than the Lehman appeal, as thus explained by Mr. Lehman; it reacts on the same principle—a principle that would do the most serious mischief here, distorting the entire focus of our political life, if it were once admitted. That Mr. Lehman may be saying what is true about the totalitarian feeling against the President, has nothing to do with the case. There are a great many things that may be true, or are certainly true, which have no standing in an American election, some of them far more relevant to national issues than the opinions of foreign rulers. There is no space to cite examples, but I hope there is no need. In sum: if we, the polygot democracy, even to satisfy a wholesome anger, deliberately extend the circumference of a national election to take in preference from abroad, we shall transgress a vital principle of national unity and we shall pay for it. It is Governor Lehman's business to know this.

These seem to be matters of principle on which I would suppose no division as between the members of the two political parties. The editorial in question was not, as Mr. Vaughan calls it, a "Willkie document." But speaking now personally, I should like to say a word on Mr. Vaughan's first sentences, to which I have finally worked back. He says: "The people are squarely presented *now* with the question, answerable in November, whether they want Mr. Roosevelt's positive, aggressive policy (his stand for Britain against the dictatorships and his gigantic defense program) or Mr. Willkie's 'Yes, But'" which, Mr. Vaughan declares, "has been ambiguously stated many times." Well, Mr. Willkie came out for aid for Britain many months before aid for Britain was as fashionable politically as it is now; he came out at the same time for national defense, and has signally aided the administration by his attitude on the draft. Mr. Vaughan will search in vain for any ambiguity from him on these topics. But there is something else, it is true: Mr. Willkie wishes to put into the forefront of national policy a conscious, intense will to stay out of war. If this is properly describable as a "Yes, but," it may not be a bad thing to have a "Yes, but" of this sort as running mate for toppling armament appropriations and peacetime conscription.

MARY KOLARS.

The Stage & Screen

The Return of the Spoken Word

AT THE TURN of the century rhetoric went out of fashion in the political arena. At about the same period florid dialogue disappeared from the theatre. William Jennings Bryan was the last of the great political spellbinders, and with him the spoken word almost vanished as a factor in elections. Coincident on the stage the proclamation of noble sentiments in rhetorical investiture gave way to the expression of commonsense ideas in the language of every-day life. Alike in politics and the theatre we got down to facts—to brass tacks. Students of politics and lovers of the drama hailed the change. In politics high-falutin sentiments had obscured the crawling things beneath, and in the theatre reality had been smothered in a blanket of high sounding words. It was declared that the wind of truth was at last blowing through fetid legislative halls and the musty corners of the drama, and that a new day would dawn alike in public affairs and in the theatre, now that language was to be used for presenting truth and not for obscuring it. The English speaking peoples had at last put their feet on the sunny uplands where ignorance and error could not live. Life and the theatre would both become reasonable.

We know what happened—in life we had 1914 followed by 1939; in the theatre a brief florescence of novelty in ideas expressed in unimaginative language, succeeded by little of importance at all. In politics and the drama alike noble sentiments had become things to be sneered at. Emotion had abdicated and the intelligence that had taken its place was of a very dessicated sort. In public affairs the printed word rather than the spoken was supreme—the newspaper had supplanted the orator. In the theatre the actor had taken a far back seat, for beauty either in his voice or in the words he uttered was labelled out of date. He had become a mime, and little more. It was all very reasonable, but our politicians were even less statesmen than they had been, and our dramatists were no longer poets.

Yet always had the people longed for the beauty of the spoken word, for the well turned phrase and the imaginative metaphor. It wanted to be moved, uplifted by the magic of the orator, and in answer to its prayer the radio was invented. With it came the radio voice—Franklin Roosevelt's, suave and mellifluous of phrase and utterance; the eloquent, ringing challenge of Winston Churchill, sonorous and majestic in its periods. Under the stress of a great peril, in the fire of suffering and disaster, was once more forged the sword of the word, the battle-axe of the mighty phrase, and man listening was stirred from his hopelessness, a hopelessness into which he had been plunged by the triumph of the "reasonable." Could he help but stir when from the radio he heard Churchill utter his magnificent tribute to the R.A.F.: "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few," or listened to him denounc-

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ing Hitler in the passage beginning: "This wicked man, the repository and embodiment of many forms of soul destroying hatreds, this monstrous product of former wrongs and shames?" Something which had long gone out of political life, something which had informed the Gettysburg Speech and the orations of Burke and Pitt, had returned to the English speaking world. And as it returned man began to feel that self sacrifice, and courage, and faith were no longer to be sneered at as outmoded remnants of an unrealistic and adolescent age.

And as in the world of men, the same spirit is beginning to stir once more in the world of the theatre. We have it in full flower in the Irish dramatists, in Sean O'Casey and Paul Vincent Carroll. Their words are eloquent, indignant; their metaphors not afraid to soar. They have brought back to the English drama the daring and the color of the England of Elizabeth—an alien, and once oppressed race has shown the English and the Americans the beauty which still lives in our native tongue, a beauty which we have all but destroyed by our boasted reasonableness. And in England and America there are dramatists who have felt the call. Ashley Dukes in his splendid play "The Man with a Load of Mischief," and in America Maxwell Anderson in "High Tor" and "The Masque of Kings" have added something to the beauty of the English drama. They are, let us hope, only the beginnings. Perhaps out of the hell which now is London, another London will arise, more beautiful physically, and more beautiful in the expression of its people. Perhaps too in America the flame which is searing England may also sear from us the dross of our materialistic reasonableness.

GRENVILLE VERNON.

No Time for Politics

WHEN MRS. ROOSEVELT made the prologue for James Roosevelt's picture "Pastor Hall," some of the trade papers screamed "Politics!" But this wasn't really politics at all; it was just a case of a famous mama doing her stint to help along her struggling son's new business (in spite of the fact that "Pastor Hall" spoke eloquently for itself and hardly needed Robert Sherwood's words to make its point clearer). Anyway it was just an accident that the name of the prologue narrator, the film's owner and the man who is trying to be President for the third time happened to be the same—just an accident, gentlemen. But film exhibitors weren't to be scared away. To avoid offending their Republican audiences, they could bill the "Information Please" that showed Mr. Wilkie boyishly, shyly, but surely vying with Adams, Kieran and Levant in answering questions. So the film business played safe on that deal.

Hollywood, on the whole, makes it a point not to stick its neck out. Of course certain stars came out with their winning buttons. Katie Hepburn, Pat O'Brien, Doug Fairbanks, Alice Faye, Miriam Hopkins and Dorothy Lamour have shown their preference for F.D.R., but Wendell Willkie can boast Mary Pickford, Bob Montgomery, George Murphy and Ralph Morgan. However that stuff is personal and cancels itself out.

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When the industry does turn to politics in features, it does so with an almost cynical sneer on its face. Two of our best (and very good they are too) political pictures illustrate this point. In last year's "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," young James Stewart gets appointed to the Senate because politicians in his State want an innocent boob in an office where they can control him. But Stewart, representing clean, American young manhood, is imbued with nobility by the Lincoln Monument and by his attractive secretary, and filibusters in the Senate when crooked politicians attempt to get rid of him. The filibuster, however, only becomes successful when his senior senator commits suicide. So, gentlemen, the suicide of a tool senator is necessary to prove justice in this democracy of ours. The other film is the recent, delightful, "The Great McGinty" which satirizes the machinery of politics. In this, Brian Donlevy, as a bum off the streets, pleases the political boss by voting some thirty-seven times. So the boss makes him alderman, then mayor, then governor. At the top of his crooked career, McGinty decides to go straight and do something about child labor, tenements, the common people. And this is his downfall. He later escapes from jail and retires to bartending along the Banana shore. Well, I suppose some evils can be cured, or at least exposed, by razzing them. But if Hollywood is going to notice politics at all in feature films, it is going to see that the movie is well sugar-coated with comedy or tongue-in-cheek drama and that no major audience is too seriously offended.

Naturally there are campaign movies made by the Parties themselves. The Democrats have several to show Mr. Roosevelt to the farmers; and the Republicans have a whole set of films featuring Mr. Willkie doing various things that Mr. W. is certain not to be doing by choice. In connection with that "Information Please" film, it is said that Willkie really didn't like to put on make-up for it, but he admitted recently in an interview with "Photoplay" that this movie has been of tremendous help in his campaign. He also made another statement that indicates that he must have a puckish sense of humor: "Both the newsreels and the 'Information Please' short have made thousands of people acquainted with me who otherwise would have no idea what I looked like." But both candidates can go to town in the newsreels. Republicans have to admit that their boy doesn't have quite the photogenic charm of his opponent—or the Groton accent. But "touseled hair" Mr. Willkie does have a fresh, gay quality that belies a Wall Street tie-up. His carefully unstudied gestures and mannerisms, his stoop shoulders and friendly wave almost compensate for his stern glasses, poor diction and grammatical errors. But he cannot say, "We hate wah" and smile like "that man in the White House!" And he doesn't seem to have a fireside. Anyway the newsreels make every effort to give both men an equal break, so they can both fill your ears with promises—that is, if you can hear them through the hises, boos and applause. Unfortunately right now they have to compete with some pretty swell shots of the football games.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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Books of the Week

Politics

The Boss. Dayton David McKean. Houghton. $3.00.

HERE again is the story of Jersey City and Boss Hague. It is told in a calm and objective fashion without the usual flourishes which most writers are tempted to use when telling of any political boss. Mr. McKean plays the theme without variations. The student of politics will recognize in the account the familiar pattern of machine politics more frequently found in the larger cities in the latter half of the nineteenth century. There is the familiar figure of the boss, risen from the slums to a lucrative position of dominance of all municipal activity, the picture of an electorate largely proletarian and tied to the boss by feelings of deep gratitude for favors, the usual ballot box stuffing and falsification of returns, the usual graft on public works, the usual bi-partisan deals, the usual flag-waving and boastful patriotism to hide all corrupt manipulations in government, and the use of things both holy and profane to shield bribery, theft, intimidation, and all the forms of roguery. No large city has escaped this degradation of its civic life. The outstanding thing about the Jersey City situation is that it has carried over so successfully (and some other cities have done so) the political mores of the nineteenth century to the present day when many American cities have become models of efficiency in all the phases of governmental operation. There was a time in American life when people would not have thought of the Jersey City situation as in the slightest degree unusual. Our advance in public morals is indicated by the general condemnation which such political manipulators meet with today. One of these days we may see the leaders in this Jersey autocracy following in the footsteps of Prendergast, Annenberg, and others.

The good Catholic citizen cannot lay down this book without a feeling of deep shame and disgust. He knows, it is true, that the whole messy business has been loudly condemned in the columns of THE COMMONWEAL and *America* and by several first-rate leaders in the Church, but he cannot escape a feeling of indignation at those Catholics lay and clerical who are partners in this public crime. That Boss Hague and his cohorts are only interested in a supine and non-virile type of Catholicism readily usable for their foul purposes is indicated by their manhandling of Catholics who vigorously attempted to apply the tenets of their faith within the confines of Jersey City. It may be human, but it is nevertheless deplorable that Catholics are purchasable in some parts of this country. The unfortunate part of it all is that good Catholics everywhere must suffer for the scandal that members of the faith in Jersey City give.

Mr. McKean tells the Catholic side of the story with restraint. He might even have said much more. The few pages which he devotes to this side of the picture, however, speak volumes. His book on the whole constitutes a readable account of the operation of a political machine and should be read by every voting citizen. It is no mere academic treatise. It is the accurate account of the working of a system which can bring the operation of the American democratic order to a tragic and disastrous end with greater rapidity than any hidden force of the so-called Fifth Column variety existing in America today.

JEROME G. KERWIN.

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WHO WALK ALONE. By Perry Burgess. "A story of suffering but not of defeat, the biography of a leper. There are no heroics about his attitude, no saintliness to alleviate his martyrdom. His story, told with authenticity and without sentimentality, is a stirring document."—*N. Y. Times Book Review.* (Holt) $2.75

SOUTH OF THE BORDER. By Arthemise Goertz. "A fresh view of the Mexican scene. From the experiences and observations of herself and her aunt, during a long visit to Mexico, Miss Goertz has written a readable and enlightening book, something really original because it is open-eyed, individual and sincere."—*New York Times.* (Macmillan) $2.50

BEYOND TEARS. By Irmgard Litten. The story of a mother's fight for the life of her son, who had incurred the wrath of Hitler. "I hope . . . that many people, who are not yet awake to the menace of power which knows no restraints except the measure of its own physical force, will read this book."—*Eleanor Roosevelt...* (Alliance) $2.75

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Smoke Screen. S. B. Pettengill. Southern Publishers. $1.00.

MR. PETTENGILL, former member of Congress, wrote this gem of political propaganda to demonstrate that we are moving toward National Socialism and that the Roosevelt administration is responsible for the direction and the speed with which the country is moving toward that awful goal.

It would be pointless to howl with or against the wolves, yet it is difficult to refer with restraint to such nonsense as the charge that the administration is making ours a "Nazi America," that it is "waging a political war against the savings of thrift," that "it is eroding the principle of thrift," that it is promoting the "bankruptcy of Christian charity, education and religion"; and that by voting for the administration we are "voting God out of office." It is in such melodramatic idiom that this self-appointed guardian of Christianity treats such diverse matters as our national taxation and fiscal policy, our petroleum and hydro-electric power policies, national socialism and marxism and the American administrative law system.

The author of this diatribe does mention some facts and does trot out certain statistics—but only to force them into the pattern of his prejudice. He fails to see steadily and see whole. If one lifts New Deal legislation from the social realities that gave it birth and the politico-economic context wherein it is to function and fits it into a scheme erected by economists of laissez-faire persuasion and politicians who extol rugged individualism, the resultant spectacle is fantastic and nightmarish indeed. The author is at home in this world of nightmare but, for those of us who are not, he proves only that he is one of the few remaining exponents of a school rapidly becoming extinct, which holds that what it names the system of "free enterprise" was created by God and enshrined in the Constitution of the United States. JOSEPH CALDERON.

Country Squire in the White House. John T. Flynn. Doubleday. $1.00.

FOR REASONS of his own John T. Flynn, columnist for the *New Republic,* recently wrote this bilious little book about President Roosevelt. Purely by coincidence, of course, it is a best-seller and one of the Willkie-crats' favorite campaign documents. According to Mr. Flynn, the President is a "not too bright country gentleman" who has seemingly read only three or four books in his life.

It is said that Mr. Flynn is a disappointed office-seeker who aspired to a spot on the Brain Trust. Whether this is true or not, his book is at any rate so biassed that you can almost hear the whine in his voice as you read. He makes statements like "It [our economic system] is today as completely foundered as it was in 1933" or "private investment is dead" or "the farm problem is precisely where he found it." Since any school boy knows better, one is inclined to discount everything he says—that is, unless one is rooting for Willkie or Earl Browder.

Mr. Flynn assumes that American labor didn't really need the New Deal's support of its right to collective bargaining and that its tremendous expansion during the Roosevelt administration was managed almost entirely on its own steam. This is an idea so painfully and completely haywire that it could make sense only in the mouth of a press agent for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

Secondly, it is something of a mystery to us how Mr.

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Flynn has rated so long as a liberal, for the truth is that he beats the drum like any plutocrat for the old hokum that prosperity depends mostly on business "confidence" and the recognition that investment is the keystone of the arch. It is comparatively unimportant to Mr. Flynn how much the industrialists take out of consuming power in excess profits as long as they have opportunities to turn those profits back into productive investments. He cannot see that the more excessive the profits, the fewer the opportunities for investment (in the long run). He cannot see, in fact, that there is any connection between prosperity and justice as applied to wages, prices, and profits, and he apparently has no idea as to why consumption gets behind production other than that "there is no more demand" for what is being produced.

Mr. Flynn accuses Roosevelt of having no real political-economic philosophy, but it is difficult to see how he himself has anything in that line either. He says nothing about the advantages of socialism, he doesn't openly endorse capitalism, and he is emphatically opposed to any plans for self-government in industry (whether by capital, labor, or both) because that, by one of the most pathetic *non sequiturs* known to man, is like Mussolini's "corporative state" and is therefore fascism and therefore to hell with it. It is true that he cannot separate this idea from the NRA days of capitalist-dictated codes (and this, incidentally, is one of his beefs against Roosevelt), but such mental paralysis is, after all, rather childish.

Although he borrows from the Republican economists, Mr. Flynn doesn't go so far as to bless their candidate or even suggest that a Republican administration would be an improvement on the New Deal. He is apparently content to sell his book to Republicans and let it go at that. In short, like the dyspeptic Mr. Pegler, Mr. Flynn's talents are essentially negative. "Country Squire in the White House" is also essentially negative—in every way.

JOHN C. CORT.

The White House: A Biography. Charles Hurd. Harpers. $3.50.

IT IS a paradox that in an age that gives point to Carlyle's claim that history is the essence of innumerable biographies, writers try to invest things with personal qualities. Mr. Phil Stong has, recently, given us the biography of a State. Now Mr. Hurd writes the biography of the White House. It is his contention that for the million people who annually visit it, there is in the White House some "unseen quality" that leaves an unforgettable impression.

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REASONABLE RATES

White House in 1,000 words, Mr. Hurd discusses the presidents, their wives, and something of our history. I have read much better pen-portraits of Abigail Adams, Dolly Madison, Peggy Eaton and Mrs. Edith Bolling Galt Wilson in almost any book that treated of them. The stories about them are well known. Nor is the book always exact. Jefferson died *before* John Adams on July 4, 1826. Slater successfully built the first spinning machine in 1791, *not* in 1800. It is not true, for anyone who has actually read it, that Jackson's veto message (of the Bank Bill) "made up in invective what it lacked in skill of argument." It is not accurate to write, "if Johnson were impeached." Johnson *was* impeached. It is not true that Taft's career "indicated an aptitude for governing." It indicated the absence of such aptitude. Douglas did not lose to Lincoln "the *Republican* nomination for the Presidency." I submit that better lives of Jefferson have appeared since Randall wrote his in 1858.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

The American Choice. Henry A. Wallace. Reynal & Hitchcock. $1.00.

AS A CAMPAIGN document, this book is an extraordinary production, extraordinary because so temperate and reasonable. It is very hard—it always has been—to get angry with Mr. Wallace. He is a compound of politician, journalist, and solid American Protestant preacher. And I mean by that last phrase a high compliment; such pastors are lovers of mankind, loyal, honest, good men: their weakness is in theology and philosophy and can be noted only to be regretted. Mr. Wallace is genuinely tolerant; he has the nostalgias we all love. He would like a world without Hitler or unemployment or soil erosion, a world which would need no New Deal. But he believes our world is not such a world, and probably will not be in our time.

His book has a subtitle: "A Foreign and Domestic Policy for America Now." Much as one is attracted to the author, one cannot agree to so portentous a description of a book which is really a pamphlet on two subjects—what are we to do about Hitler? and what is the state of our not-so-good earth?

Briefly Mr. Wallace contends that "after the war" we should trade with the "new order," but only on national terms; i.e., on terms wherein national interests are paramount, as distinguished from the interests of individual farmers or business men. This, he says, is the only way to avert our economic conquest by Nazidom. And he doubts if Mr. Willkie's party will do it. He likens the Republicans specifically to England's appeasers, and to Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Roosevelt is the Nazis' "known and resolute antagonist," whereas, "in the face of the Republican candidate's early declaration," the Nazis are trying to elect him "as more possibly amenable." This is to say what Governor Lehman said, but to say it more fairly. It is possible to disagree on two scores; either the Nazis will not try to dominate us—or the world—economically, and therefore all this is much ado about nothing; or Mr. Willkie will disregard the feelings of his big-shot backers and will do better than Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. Wallace's other subject is past dispute. Our soil has been mined, wasted, allowed to wash away. We must take steps to stop the process, or we are doomed. Mr. Roosevelt more than any other President has seen this and acted on what he has seen. It being Mr. Wallace's specialty, he writes well about it. HARRY LORIN BINSSE.

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